

Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 ROME 20447 161823Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01
TRSE-00 OMB-01 EB-07 /067 W
----- 031718 /67

R 161710Z DEC 76
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1800
INFO AMCONSUL FLORENCE
AMCONSUL MILAN
AMCONSUL NAPLES

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE ROME 20447

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINT, IT
SUBJECT: ---

REF: ROME 20327

SUMMARY: THE DEC. 13-14 PCI CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING ON
ORGANIZATIONAL REFORMS ENDED ON A CURIOUSLY INCONCLUSIVE
NOTE BY FAILING TO ADOPT THE STRUCTURAL REFORMS PROPOSED
IN PCI SECRETARY CERVETTI'S OPENING SPEECH. ALTHOUGH
BERLINGUER'S RECENT INITIATIVE FOR A MIDDLE-TERM ACTION
PROGRAM OBTAINED FULL SUPPORT, NO CLEAR CONSENSUS EMERGED
ON WHAT WAS NEEDED TO ACCOMPLISH IT. MANY SPEAKERS
DWELT ON THE PARTY'S INADEQUACIES AND "CONTRADICTIONS."
BERLINGUER HIMSELF DID NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE DEBATE.
END SUMMARY.

1. THE TWO-DAY CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING CONCLUDED
AROUND MIDNIGHT ON DEC. 14 WITH A DECISIVE REBUFF OF THE
ORGANIZATIONAL REFORMS PROPOSED IN CERVETTI'S
OPENING ADDRESS (REFTEL). NONE OF THE PARTY'S BIG
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 ROME 20447 161823Z

GUNS (AMENDOLA, LONGO) ADDRESSED THE MEETING, AND
BERLINGUER HIMSELF, WHO RUMORED TO DELIVER THE CON-
CLUDING STATEMENT, DID NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE LENGTHY
DEBATE. THE MOST SIGNIFICANT INTERVENTIONS WERE MADE
BY ECONOMIC EXPERTS NAPOLITANO, BARCA, AND COSSUTTA.
THEY AND THE OTHER SPEAKERS IGNORED THE SPECIFIC

ORGANIZATIONAL REFORMS ADVOCATED BY CERVETTI (NOTABLY THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NATIONAL PARTY COUNCILS PATTERNED AFTER DEMOCRATIC PARTIES). THE CC'S FINAL COMMUNIQUE SIMILARLY IGNORES THE ENTIRE SUBJECT. SINCE THE PURPOSE OF THE MEETING (IN UNITA'S PHRASING) HAD BEEN TO STUDY "PROBLEMS OF INTERNAL ORGANIZATION AND THE PARTY'S CAPACITY TO ORIENT AND DIRECT THE PAPULAR MOVEMENT TOWARD OBJECTIVES OF RENEWAL AND DEVELOPMENT," THE INCONCLUSIVENESS OF THE DEBATE AND THE FAILURE TO ADDRESS CERVETTI'S PROPOSALS ARE CURIOUS.

2. IT IS CLEAR FROM CERVETTI'S CLOSING STATEMENT THAT THE DEBATE HAD BEEN INTENDED TO FOCUS ON STRUCTURAL CHANGES REQUIRED TO COMPLIMENT BERLINGUER'S RECENT INITIATIVE IN RINASCITA WHICH CALLED ON THE PARTY TO FORMULATE AN OVERALL MIDDLE-TERM ACTION PLAN TO SERVE AS THE BASIS FOR A PCI-LED INTER-PARTY DIALOGUE IN THE MONTHS AHEAD. CERVETTI SAID THAT BERLINGUER'S PROPOSAL RECEIVED "FULL SUPPORT" AND INDEED IT DID. HOWEVER, THERE WAS LITTLE EFFORT TO DEVELOP THE BERLINGUER IDEA IN PRACTICAL TERMS OR RELATE IT TO STRUCTURAL CHANGES. IT SERVED THE SPEAKERS RATHER AS A POINT OF DEPARTURE (IN UNITA'S WORDS) FOR "A FRANK REFLECTION ON THE LIMITATIONS AND SHORTCOMINGS WHICH REMIAN AND BRAKE" THE PARTY'S DEVELOPMENT.

3. NAPOLITANO PROVIDED PERHAPS THE CLEAREST RATIONALE FOR BERLINGUER'S PROPOSAL. HE SAID THE RECENT DC NATIONAL COUNCIL PROVED THAT THE DC CONCEIVED OF LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 ROME 20447 161823Z

"CONFRONTO" AS A "CASE BY CASE" DISCUSSION OF ISSUES (WHICH, BY IMPLICATTION, REDUCES THE PCI'S OVERALL POLITICAL LEVERAGE BY KEEPING THE PCI HOSTAGE TO THE EXIGENCIES OF POLITICAL MODERATION). THE PCI, NAPOLITANO ASSERTED, SHOULD HAVE ITS "OWN PROJECT FOR THE NEW DEVELOPMENT OF ITALIAN SOCIETY" TO GIVE "CONFRONTO" A BROADER MEANING. ECONOMIC EXPERT BARCA CONCURRED IN THIS ANALYSIS.

4. NAPLOITANO SAID THE PCI MUST RELATE ITS STRATEGY MORE CLOSELY TO A "COHESIVE VISION OF GOVERNMENT." IN A STRIKING ADMISSION OF THE PARTY'S ILL PREPAREDNESS FOR POWER, NAPOLITANO ASSERTED THAT "NOW THAT WE FIND OURSELVES TODAY SO CLOSE TO THE POLITICAL POWER IN THE COUNTRY, IT IS URGENT TO FACE UP TO OUR CONTRADICTIONS AND LIMITS." HE SAID THAT "RESIDUAL SECTORALISM" IN ECONOMIC POLICY HAD RASIED "SERVIOUS PROBLEMS OF COMPATICBILITY, CREDIBILITY,

AND RIGOR IN DEVELOPING OUR POLITICAL AND PRAGMATIC DIALOGUE." BARCA WAS EQUALLY EXPLICIT IN ADDRESSING THE RISK OF "FRAGMENTATION AND UNRESOLVED CONTRADICTIONS IN OUR PROPOSALS." NAPOLITANO SPOKE OF THE "PARTICULAR DIFFICUTIES" OF THE TRADE UNIONS NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF THE ECONOMIC CRISIS BUT "ESPECIALLY ON ACCOUNT OF OBJECTIVE CONTRADICTIONS" (IE. THE PCI'S STRATEGY OF GOVERNMENTAL MODERATION).

5. BOTH NAPOLITANO AND BARCA SUPPORTED THE BERLINGUER PROPOSAL IN ARGUING THAT THE CPI MUST HAVE A DEMOCRATIC STRUCTURE CAPABLE OF PROVIDNG A NATIONAL SYNTHESIS" TO RESOLVE THESE DIFFICULTIES. THE PCI HAD TO IMPROVE VERTICAL COMMUNICATIONS AND ACHIEVE CLOSER COORDINATION WITH RESEARCH CENTERS. BARCA CALLED ON REGIONAL PARTY OFFICES TO DEVELOP "UNDREDS AND HUNDREDS OF SPECIALISTS AND EXPERTS" CAPABLE OF CONTRIBUTING TO PARTY DECISIONS AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 04 ROME 20447 161823Z

6. IF NAPOLITANO AND BARCA ESSENTIALLY SUPPORTED CERVETTI'S CALL FOR A PARTY OF SPECIALISTS PREPARED FOR THE TASKS OF GOVERNMENT (WHILE NOT COMMENTING ON CERVETTI'S SPECIFIC STRUCTURAL REFORMS), COSSUTTA PROVIDED THE KIND OF ORTHODOX COUNTERPOINT LENT BY LONGO AT THE LAST CC. HE ENDORSED BERLINGUER'S INITIATIVE IN MILITANT TERMS: THE PCI MUST PREPARE ITSELF FOR "A SERIOUS POLITICAL CONFRONTATION IN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS WHICH, WITHOUT JEOPARDIZING THE GOVERNMENT, MUST CREAT THE CONDIDITON..TO CHANGE THE ORIENTATION OF THE POLITICAL FORCES." IN CONTRAST TO THOSE WHO EMPHASIZE THE PCI'S SIMILARITIES TO DEMOCRATIC PARTIES, COSSUTTA INSISTED ON THE PCI'S ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCES FROM OTHER PARTIES. "TO OBFUSCATE OUR ROLE, IF ONLY PARTIALLY, WOULD LEAD TO THE END OF OUR OWN REASON FOR BEING," COSSUTTA WARNED. IT WAS ON THING TO BE COMPATIBLE, BUT THIS MUST NEVER LEAD TO "RESIGNATION." THE PCI HAD TO REMIAN TRUE TO ITS "ESSENTIAL NATURE AS A FORCE FOR CHANGE."

7. COSSUTA ALSO TOOK ON NAPOLITANO ON THE ISSUE OF "SECTORALISM", PROVIDING COMMUNES MONEY WITHOUT INSISTING ON REFORMS CONSTITUED "SECTORALISM," HE SAID, BUT FIGHTING FOR PUBLIC FINANCING REFORMS TO ROVIDE COMMUNES THE MEANS THEY NEED WAS NOT. TOUCHING ON AN APPARENT SORE POINT, COSSUTTA WARNED THAT SINCE THE PCI NOW ADMINISTERS MOST LARGE CITIES AND COMMUNES, " A GREAT PART OF OUR CREDIBILITY AND OUR ROLE AS A PARTY" HANGS IN THE BALANCE. HE SNEERED

AT THE "CONFORMISM" OF THE NEW PCI GENERATION, CONTRASTING THEM UNFAVORABLY WITH THE '56 GENERATION WHO WERE "GLADIATORS" IN COMPARISON.

8. THE CC THEREFORE PRODUCED SCANT RESULTS. BESIDES IGNORING CERVETTI'S STRUCTURAL REFORMS, IT ALSO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 05 ROME 20447 161823Z

DETAILED THE PROPOSAL TO SCHEDULE THE 7TH WORKERS CONFERENCE IN FEBRUARY FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION BY THE DIRECTORATE. IDEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS WERE SIDESTEPED (IE. A NEW INTERPRETATION OF "HEGEMONY") FOR CONSIDERATION AT A FUTURE MEETING ON GRAMSCI (THE PCI'S LENIN).

9. CERVETTI'S SUMMATION HAD NOTHING OF THE CONFIDENT TONE CONVEYED IN HIS OPTIMISTIC (PREPARE-FOR-GOVERNMENT) INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS. HE CONCLUDED WITH A FRANK ADMISSION THAT "THE DEBATE HAD REVEALED LIMITATIONS" IN TO THE SEARCH FOR ORGANIZATIONAL SOLUTIONS AND IN THE "DEVELOPMENT OF SELF-CRITICISM." THESE LIMITATIONS, HE SAID, WOULD HAVE TO BE "CORRECTED" IN FUTURE DEBATES. IN AN IMMEDIATELY SUCCEEDING MESSAGE, WE WILL ATTEMPT TO COMMENT ON THIS PUZZLING MEETING WHICH THE DC JOURNAL DESCRIBED AS "ELUSIVE." BEAUDRY

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PARTY LINE, POLITICAL PARTIES, PARTY MEETINGS, MEETING REPORTS, POLITICAL SITUATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 16 DEC 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: vogelfj
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976ROME20447
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760463-1308
From: ROME
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19761237/aaaabfjn.tel
Line Count: 199
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 ROME 20327
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: vogelfj
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 12 MAY 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <12 MAY 2004 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <13 SEP 2004 by vogelfj>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ---
TAGS: PINT, IT, PCI
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006